



EXCISE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 08245 01 OF 03 280537Z
ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 CH-15 CIAE-00 EA-10
ICA-11 DODE-00 H-01 NSC-05 NSAE-00 HA-06 PM-09
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R 280403Z JUN 81
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5946
INFO AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMCONSUL LAHORE POUCH
AMCONSUL PESHAWAR POUCH
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BEIJING

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 08245

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/24/81 (HUMMEL, A.W.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PEPR MOPS MMOL XD
SUBJECT: (C) THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF THE AFGHAN
INSURGENCY

REF: VESHAWAR A-6

1. (C) ENTIRE TEXT

2. I WOULD LIKE TO INVITE THE ATTENTION OF ADDRESSEES TO CONSULATE PESHAWAR'S EXCELLENT UPDATED PRIMER ON THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE (REFAIR) ENTITLED "THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF THE AFGHAN INSURGENCY". WHICH WAS POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT JUNE 24.

3. HERE FOLLOWS A SUMMARY OF THE REPORTS CONCLUSIONS
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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 06245 01 OF 03 280537Z

AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE MAJOR ACTORS. IN THE AFGHAN

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FREEDOM STRUGGLE:

4. QUOTE: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INSURGENT POLITICAL PARTIES TO THE AFGHAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE IS LIMITED FOR TWO BASIC REASONS: FIRST, FIGHTING IS GENERALLY CONDUCTED BY LOCAL GROUPS, FEW OF WHICH RECEIVE AID FROM THE PESHAWAR BASED PARTIES. SECOND, BECAUSE AFGHANISTAN'S IS A LARGELY TRIVIAL AND ILLITERATE SOCIETY, THE NATIONALIST IDEOLOGIES ESPOUSED BY THE PARTIES HAVE TEND TO SPARK SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT. STILL, THE SIX MAJOR PARTIES RECOGNIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN ARE IMPORTANT BECAUSE ONLY THEY HAVE ACCESS TO OUTSIDE AID FLOWS. MOREOVER, THE PARTIES ARE SLOWLY INTRODUCING POLITICAL CONCEPTS AMONG THE COUNTRY'S RURAL AND FORMERLY POLITICALLY UNAWARE POPULATION.

5. FUNDAMENTALISTS AND MODERATES: THE SIX GOP RECOGNIZED PESHAWAR-BASED EXILE PARTIES HAVE INCREASINGLY DIVIDED ALONG IDEOLOGICAL LINES INTO TWO CAMPS, FUNDAMENTALIST AND MODERATE. FUNDAMENTALISTS SEE THE JEHAD (HOLY WAR) AS NOT JUST A FREEDOM FIGHT, BUT ALSO AS A MEANS TO ESTABLISH A "REVOLUTIONARY ISLAMIC STATE: ESSENTIALLY ONE WHICH WOULD PURSUE A COURSE OF SOCIAL "ISLAMIZATION", PERHAPS TURNING BACK THE CLOCK ON A-NUMBER OF SOCIAL REFORMS. INTRODUCED OVER THE LAST HALF CENTURY, AND AVOID ALIGNMENT WITH WEST AS WELL AS EAST. FUNDAMENTALISTS TEND TO PUBLICLY DISDAIN THE PROSPECT OF AID FROM "SUPERPOWER HEGEMONISTS" LIKE THE U.S. AND REFUSE ANY ROLE IN THE INSURGENCY FOR EX-KING ZAHIR SHAH OR THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH HIS REGIME OR THAT OF DAUD KHAN. FUNDAMENTALISTS HAVE DONE MUCH BETTER IN THE INSURGENT MOVEMENT THAN MODERATES FOR THREE REASONS: THEY ARE RELATIVELY WELL ORGANIZED;
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PAGE 03 ISLAMA 08245 01 OF 03 2805372

DEVOUT MUSLIMS RESPOND FAVORABLY TO THEIR ISLAMIC ZEAL; AND THEY HAVE ESTABLISHED GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE GOP AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES IN PAKISTAN.

6. MODERATES GENERALLY COME FROM THE URBAN ELITE WHICH PROSPERED UNDER DAUD KHAN AND ZAHIR SHAH AND OFTEN PRIVATELY EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR THE LATTER AS A POTENTIAL LEADER OF THE INSURGENCY. THE WESTERN EDUCATIONAL BACK- GROUND OF MANY MODERATES ARE REFLECTED IN THEIR ADVOCACY OF A SECULAR-DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT FOR A FUTURE FREE

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AFGHANISTAN AND THEIR EAGERNESS FOR FREE WORLD AID. MODERATE PARTIES HAVE NOT DONE WELL BECAUSE OF THEIR LACK OF ORGANIZATIONAL VIGOR AND FUNDAMENTALISTS' SUCCESS IN TARRING THEM AS ANTI-ISLAMIC LEFTISTS.

7. GUIDE TO THE MAJOR INSURGENT POLITICAL PARTIES:
--HIZB-I-ISLAMI (HEKMATYAR): THE LARGER FACTION OF HIZB-I-ISLAMI IS LED BY GUL BADEEN HEKMATYAR, A YOUNG FORMER KABUL INIVERSITY STUDENT WHO HAS CPPOSED KABUL REGIME WITH GOP SUPPORT SINCE 1974. IN ADDITION TO ITS CLOE TIES WITH THE PAKS, HIZB IS OVERALL PERHAPS THE MOS EFFECTIVE OF THE PARTIES BECAUSE OF ITS ORGANIZTIONAL DRIVE AND DISCIPLINE, ITS SUPERB PR OPERATIONS, AND ITS HIGHLY PARTISAN BUT LIEKLY CANNY LONG-RANGE STRATEGIES OF SELF-RELIANCE AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION. MILITARILY, HIZB IS PROBABLY AS WIDESPREAD AS ANY OF THE PARTIES AND FIELDS SOME HIGHLY EFFECTIVE GUERILLA UNITS NEAR THE PAKISTAN BORDER. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, HIZB HAS A VERY BAD REPUTATION FOR STRONG-ARMED PARTISANSHIP ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER.

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 08245 02 OF 03 280546Z
ACTION MEA-11

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 08245

--JAMIAT-I-ISLAMI AFGHANISTAN: JAMIAT'S CHIEF, PROFESSOR
(OF THEOLOGY) BURHANUDDIN RABANNI HAILS FROM AND HAS
MAINTAINED SOME SUPPORT IN KADAKHSHAN PROVINCE AS WELL AS
OTHER NORTHERN AREAS. HE, LIKE HEKMATYAR, ENJOYS EXCELLENT
RELATIONS WITH THE GOP AND PAK RIGHTIST GROUP AND
MAINTAINS TIES IN IRAN AND THE ARAB WORLD. CLEARLY,
JAMIAT IS LESS POTENT MILITARILY AND OTHER WISE THEN ITS
FUNDAMENTALIST BIG BROTHER HIZB, AND RABANNI OFTEN
APPEARS TO BE TAKING HIS POLITICAL CUES FROM HEKMATYAR.

--HIZB-I-ISLAMI (KHALIS): LED BY MOHAMMAD YOUNUS
KHALIS, THIS GROUP HAS LONG BEEN KNOWN FOR THE ENERGY AND
EFFECTIVENESS OF ITS MILITARY OPERATIONS IN NANGAFHAR AND
PAKTIA PROVINCES. KHALIS IS A TRADITIONAL MUSLIM AND
IDENTIFIED WITH THE FUNDAMENTALISTS, BUT HE HAS SHOWN
FLEXIBILITY ON SOME ISSUES ESPECIALLY HELP FROM THE
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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 08245 02 OF 03 280546Z

WEST. HIS IMAGE, UNLIKE THOSE OF THE OTHER LEADERS, HAS
IMPROVED RECENTLY, AND HIS GROUP IS NOW SEEING AS HAVING

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WIDENED AND INTENSIFIED ITS MILITARY IMPACT.

B. POLITICAL ALLIANCES: MUCH TIME IN PESHAWAR IS DEVOTED TO PROPOSING, CONSTRUCTING AND DISPOSING OF ALLIANCES BETWEEN VARIOUS COMBINATIONS OF THE MAJOR PARTIES. THESE SIMULATE AFGHAN UNITY WHILE PRESERVING PARTY JOBS AND POWER. ONE SUCH, THE LONG-LIVED BUT LARGELY INCONSEQUENTIAL, ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN, EXPIRED OFFICIALLY IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR. THIS LINKED-VERY LOOSELY ALL OF THE MAJOR GROUPS BUT

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HEKMATYAR'S. IT INCREASINGLY BECAME A TOOL OF THE FUNDAMENTALISTS. SOME SAY ITS ERSTWHILE LEADER, PROFESSOR ABOL RASOOL SAYYAF, CONTINUES TO ENJOY MATERIAL SUPPORT FROM THE GOP. THE (MODERATE) ISLAMIC ALLIANCE WAS NO DOUBT CONCEIVED AS A COUNTER TO GROWING FUNDAMENTALIST INFLUENCE IN THE JEHAD. THIS YOKING OF THE MODERATE PARTIES OF GAILANI AND MOJADEDI WITH THE UNPREDICTABLE HARAKAT OF NABI WAS ANNOUNCED IN MAY 1981. THERE IS VERY LITTLE REASON TO SUPPOOSE THAT IT WILL HAVE MORE THAN MARGINAL PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCE.

9. OTHER POLITICAL GROUPS: AMONG THE OTHER POLITICAL GROUPS SEEKING OUTSIDE HELP AND A ROLE IN THE JIHAD, ONLY TWO--BOTH AT THE LEFT END OF THE IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM--SEEM TO HAVE HAD MUCH SUCCESS. SAMI IS A DESCENDANT OF THE OLD PRO-BEIJING SHOLA-I-JAYAD. LED BY A SELF-PROFESSED "INDEPENDENT MARXIST," ABOL QAYYUM. IT IS OFTEN SAID TO BE THE MOST EFFECTIVE GROUP OPERATING IN KAGUL. AFGHAN MELLAT DESCENDS FROM THE AFGHAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND FAVORS A RESTRUCTURING ALONG SOCIALIST LINES OF "FEUDAL" AFGHAN SOCIETY. IT IS OF VERY LIMITED MILITARY OR OTHER CONSEQUENCE, THOUGH IT DOES CONDUCT PERIODIC OPERATIONS IN THE AFGHAN SOUTHWEST.

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 08245 03 OF 03 280627Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 08245

10. TRIBAL/REGIONAL ORGANIZATION: THERE HAS BEEN A STRONG
AND GROWING SENTIMENT AMONG AFGHANS WITHOUT TIES
TO THE PARTIES, INCLUDING MANY WITHIN THE COUNTRY, IN
FAVOR OF CREATION OF SOME ALTERNATIVE OR ALTERNATIVES TO
THE POLITICAL PARTIES, WHICH ARE SEEN AS SELFSEEKING AND
INEFFECTIVE. MANY REGIONAL GROUPS BASED PRIMARILY ON
TRIBAL RATHER THAN POLITICAL TIES HAVE SPRUNG UP IN
VARIOUS AREAS. THE MOST EFFECTIVE ARE AMONG THE (SHIA)
HAZARA TRIBESMEN OF THE CENTRAL HAZARAJAT AND THE TAJIKS
OF THE STRATEGIC PANJSHER VALLEY. OTHER ORGANIZATIONS --
OF MORE POTENTIAL THAN PRESENT CONSEQUENCE--HAVE BEEN
ESTABLISHED FOR KUNAR-MURISTAN AND THE BALUCH OF THE
AFGHAN SOUTHWEST. BECAUSE OF THE SUCCESS OF SOME OF THESE
GROUPS AND IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT MOST OF THE FIGHTING
IN THE JEHAD IS DONE BY LOCAL, SELF-RELIANT GROUPS, THE
POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATION WOULD
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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 08245 03 OF 03 280627Z

APPEAR TO BE GREAT.

11. "PAN-AFGHAN" MOVEMENTS: THERE CAN AS YET BE NO TITLE
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OPTIMISM, THOUGH, AS REGARDS PROPOSALS FOR FORGING A NATIONAL LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE FOR THE JEHAD BASED ON COALESCENCE OF SUCH GROUPS AND EITHER INCORPORATING OR DISPLACING THE POLITICAL PARTIES. THERE HAVE BEEN THREE SUCH PAN-AFGHAN MOVEMENTS IN THE LAST YEAR: THE LOYA JIRGAH (GRAND ASSEMBLY) WAS A PROPOSED NATIONWIDE ASSEMBLY WHICH WOULD HAVE COMBINED REPRESENTATIVES FROM EACH AFGHAN PROVINCE WITH DELEGATES FROM THE SIX MAJOR PARTIES. IT FAILED AFTER AN INITIAL MEETING PRIMARILY.

(b)1
NAUK-I-ITIHAD (TRIBAL UNION) IS THE NAME FOR AN AS YET AMORPHOUS MOVEMENT TO JOIN THE VARIOUS EVOLVING REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS INTO A UNIFIED "NON-POLITICAL" JEHAD LEADERSHIP WHICH WOULD WREST POWER -- AND OUTSIDE AID -- FROM THE PARTIES. RECENTLY, A "UNITY ULEMA" OF ISLAMIC AND OTHER REFUGEE LEADERS ISSUED A CALL FOR A MERGER OF THE INSURGENT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THIS IS A FUNDAMENTALIST STRATEGY OF LITTLE PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE. IT MAY, HOWEVER, PRESAGE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ALLIANCE OF FUNDAMENTALIST PARTIES. END QUOTE.

12. KABUL MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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